/253 cont./

539 When he came back, he saw the snake in its place. Then he changed back into a human being. The fiber bag was there, too. The bananas were there, too. The snake filled with water (that is, underdone, still watery) was there.

It was afternoon when he went into his house. The bag he brought to his wife. He came to his wife with this bag. When he had knocked, he entered.

2. Orientation and General Knowledge

772 776 177 Nothing definite can be said about the ancient Paez conception of the world, since Christian influence has had a strongly modifying effect. In any case, there is in the Paez vocabulary the word "tátyinas," which is sometimes translated as "god," and sometimes -- and corresponding better with the meaning of the word -- as "creator." The word "Dios" is used to designate the Christian God. Tátyinas, I was told, lives in heaven, on the earth, and in the earth. He made all human beings. He does not receive sacrifices. He is not mentioned in shamanistic ceremonies.

772 ●775 The vocabulary shows that, besides the earth and the conception of a heaven or of the firmament, there were also two places of the dead that were familiar. The happy land of death, mbéka kígwe, is like heaven. Literally it means "land of chicha," and if one knows the Paez, one realizes that in any case it must be /254/ a happy land. The land of the dead corresponding to [776] "hell" is called eč kígwe. The eč are the most evil of all spirits. They live in the earth; hence this designation must refer to a subterranean land.

804 461 As for natural periods of time, only days and months are known, as well as work days and non-work days (ki'sen). The latter designation is now used for Sunday. Originally this was not a fixed day; rather, people worked and celebrated as they could arrange the time within a larger or smaller community. Even today, during the times of clearing, the people sometimes work for weeks in the field, without inserting a work-free day.

/268 cont./

756 without leaving a trace. In vain the father tried to find out where
773 he was staying. After eight days, however, the son again appeared in the hut. He said that he had been with his grandfather, who had given him brandy, medicines, and this staff that he held in his hand and that was called tama. The "brandy" was cold water from a lake, and the medicines in the fiber bag were mountain herbs. After he had said this, he fell into a trance and lay there as though dead. Fourteen days later, as he lay dying, he asked his father to hand him his tama, for Thunder had told him that he could defend himself with it and that, in case of illness, he should take the medicines that he had given him. He squeezed /269/ out the juice and drank it. Quickly he became well. When he gave it to other sick persons, they, too, became well immediately. With his staff and his medicines he became the best doctor far and wide. He died at an advanced age.

775 Another shaman said that the tama stems from a lifesaving
773 act of the Holy Virgin Mary. Once when the sea rose constantly
177 higher and had covered almost the entire earth, human beings were in great danger. The Virgin Mary took pity on them. She drew forth the tama and with it made the same motions that the shamans make with it today. The masses of water then receded. She left her staff behind for the person who became a shaman. This is supposed to be the origin of the tama.

Although in the latter story not only the figure of the Virgin Mary, but possibly also the motif of the Deluge did not originate in the thought of the Paez, nevertheless the origin of the tama as
756 a gift from a higher power is noteworthy. This power, which,
776 for the shamans, is of the greatest significance as a spirit being
787 and as the first shaman, is Thunder. According to reports, he also positively has the character of an assistant spirit, even though he is almost only feared by the present-day shamans. "The old shamans," the present ones constantly assert, "were still powerful enough magically to establish communication with Thunder directly and at any time; we today are no longer able
778 to do it." In former times the members of the cabildo, under the
756 guidance of a shaman, bathed together in the lagoon of Juan Tama
623

/274 cont./

774 (u = nasal) and taff, with which everyone is familiar, although
776 they are not sure about the distinction between the two. The
753 shamans Francisco and Cerbeleón said that the two were the same; but both of them also said that ũns or taff, if they had left the person in his dream and were abroad, could be caught by tũs, eč, or nyiç without the person's becoming aware of this immediately, but rather he still went on living. To my objection that in this case ũns and taff were probably different, they did not know how
● [775] to answer; Cerbeleón stated that if a person dies, his ũns goes to heaven and the person himself becomes taff. He and other teyu
756 were able to catch the ũns of a human being. Thus, for example,
774 if someone had been robbed, he would come to Cerbeleón. The
754 latter takes coca, tobacco, and brandy, and then he can bring forth the ũns of the thief, seize it, and kill it. The thief must
[783] then die. In order to get the ũns in his power, he must first cleanse
[824] his hands with the herbs sũ and vitubĩtskwe, as well as with brandy.
[276] The ũns has the form of a small animal, he explained; it can fly and glows and is about three centimeters long. It is very similar to a firefly in appearance, but different from eč.

554 Having reached this point in his explanation, Cerbeleón grew
754 silent, and our interpreter Victoriano said that we should now have
756 to depart, but quickly. With that he left the house in positive
[124] flight, and we were obliged to follow. Outside he explained to us that Cerbeleón was a "mal brujo," a nyiç, which, to be sure, he had always suspected before, but just now Cerbeleón had given himself away inasmuch as he had said that he could catch and
[682] kill the ũns of human beings. The people of Calderas also say that he possessed herbs that he could put in eggs, chicha, or other food, whereupon people would eat them and then die. One of the sons of Cerbeleón was a thief and had died in the following manner: The one who was robbed had prayed to the Virgen Santisima /Holy Virgin/, and God had punished the thief with death. The father himself, that is, the shaman Cerbeleón, is also a thief and kills people out of envy for their possessions.

The mission sisters confirmed this statement insofar as Cerbeleón had several times attempted to kill them by sprinkling

/274 cont./

554 herbs into their drinking-water canal. Now he had given it up,
754 however. To us he seemed to be merely an idle talker; he did
756 not give the impression of actually having received signs or of being serious about the matter, but rather it seemed as though he had merely learned a little by watching his father /275/ and was doing it mechanically without any inner concern. Francisco, too, had a father and grandfather as shaman predecessors. He was likewise rather ignorant, but apparently meant well. He did his best to help people.

756 Martin Chukue was completely absorbed by his calling and
753 duty, and he was well informed, serious, and dignified in his
761 shamanistic work. When the capitan of Calderas died, he was the shaman authorized to act for his residence, and he also conducted the purification ceremony after his burial. Martin explained the cause of death of the capitan as follows: The capitan had to die because the tũs had stolen the taff soul of the capitan. The capitan died with his left leg drawn up. He was very thin when he died, because he had not eaten anything for a long time, for
[755] his taff soul had been stolen five years ago. At that time the sick man began feeling pain, and during the entire time he, Martin, had fought with the tũs, offered him medicines, and tried to appease him.

● 775 When the ũns soul (ũns also means "heart"!) leaves the body,
[774] then the person is ultimately dead. And, to be sure, ũns leaves
[827] the body by way of the upper arms, lower arms, finger tips. Shortly before it leaves the person, one may still perceive it very faintly as a pulse beat, and when the pulse beat ceases altogether, the ũns has left the body and immediately goes to heaven. No one could tell me exactly in what form it goes to heaven. In heaven, however, it again has the normal human appearance.
[755] When children are ill, wool threads are put around their wrists
[774] and ankles and drawn tightly in order to prevent the escape of the ũns, or at least to make it more difficult.

/276 cont./
769 foods: meat, maize, chicha, brandy, coca, yuca, etc. These gifts are laid on a banana leaf on the floor of the church and a
775 candle is lighted along with it.) The ãhimos, too, can only be seen by shamans.

774 She does not know when and from where a child gets its ũns and taff. She believes that as soon as the heart of the child beats in the mother's womb, the child has ũns; it gets taff only after birth. Animals have no taff; they have ũns only if they devour human beings.

e) Shamanistic Séances

756 Each of the shamanistic séances, be it a treatment of the sick
783 or a ceremony during housebuilding or at a burial, is basically a purification from "pest" and therefore a ceremony of magic practices. All these ceremonies and séances are thus in essence the same. They differ only in details, for example, in the different medicinal herbs or in the order of the various purifications. Let us first give a description of a purification ceremony /277/ by the shaman Martin Chucue after a burial (see Ill. 208 to 213 /see pp. 292-294/).

756 The shaman does not take part in the burial. Moreover, he
764 neither enters the house of a deceased in which the corpse is still
783 present, nor does he accompany a funeral procession to the burial place. The mourners, men, women, and children, go to the burial place together and then return to the house of mourning. Before they may enter it, however, they must go to the river where the shaman awaits them in order to purify them for the first time. Then they go together to the house of mourning, which, however, the purified people may not yet enter, since it is still unclean. The shaman, with his helpers, must first purify the house with the same remedies with which he purified the people, namely, with water to which herbs and cow excrement have been added. After that the people, too, may enter the house and eat and drink.

/275 cont./

775 [828] 774 Old Celia Uriaga of Calderas, who told us two stories, but is not a shaman herself, reported the following: When a person sleeps and dreams, his taff leaves the body, goes everywhere, and experiences what the person is experiencing in his dream. When the person dies, ũns then leaves the person by way of the veins of the upper and lower arm, where one can feel the pulse, and finally by way of the finger tips. Taff also leaves the person, but in the form of a human being with white clothing. Whereas ũns goes to heaven, taff either stays near the body in the grave or goes about on earth, although not as taff, but as áhimos (ghost). It can be seen by the shamans at night, but also by human beings at midnight or around two o'clock at night, in the form of a human figure sitting by the wayside. It is not a real human being, however, but more like a wind. /276/ Ahimos is generally at the burial place, there where the corpse is buried and where the bones are.

According to the account of the old téoi Felisa, the ũns leaves the body upon the death of a human being and goes to heaven. It leaves the body by way of the lower arms, hands, and finger tips. 755 775 763 [824] Felisa herself tries to hold back the ũns of a dying person by blowing hard on his finger tips after she has previously taken a mouthful of the herbs čáyuts and ǰuwéz as well as brandy. At the same time, with the same herbs in her hands, she strokes the patient's arms from the finger tips upward, in order to hold back ũns. Taff leaves the human body before death. In doing so, it whistles. Felisa can see it. It wanders along a path, well dressed, and the shaman is able to bring it back by tearing its clothes with a very sharp-edged reed (nyſka), and then it is obliged to return to the body (cf. Ill. 199 /see p. 288/).

775 [825] Apart from the shamans, she is convinced that no one is able to see taff, except for dogs, when they sometimes howl for no apparent reason. Whereas ũns goes to heaven, taff remains on earth and goes 769 on living in its house as áhimos in the form of a breath of air. (No accessories are put in the grave with the dead, but on the following December 8, the Feast of the Immaculada, and recurrently each year, the relatives offer to the áhimos of their dead their favorite

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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the drum-dance, in which the women sang to the accompaniment of a drum; *rito-kʉ*, or *fits-kʉ*, the stick-dance, etc.

In addition to the shells and reeds, the Indians also accompanied their dances with a kind of drum (*kimb*), consisting of a long wooden trough hung by its extremities; and the *tsoits*, or rattle, a calabash containing small stones or hard canna seeds and provided with a handle.

According to Castillo the Paez had also other deities, corresponding somewhat to the lares of the ancient Latins, carved images of which were often found in the houses. The *dizi*, who were at one time priests, sorcerers, and medicine-men, lived in retirement and were considered as the keepers of the doctrines of a traditional civilizer of the nation, called *Guchiui*. So strong was their influence in Castillo's time that he complains rather bitterly about it, and proceeds to explain how the true God, wishing to free the Paez from such a devilish guide, simply employed a subterfuge to drown him in the Paez river, together with two of his apostles!

The belief in a future existence is indicated, as Uricoechea relates, by the fact that the Indians never molested white dogs, in order that they might not be bitten by them at the doors of the house beyond the grave.

There were birds and other signs of good or of evil omen. A woman would never step over a leather rope stretched on the ground, but would lift it up and pass beneath. During the construction of bridges, two men constantly beat the waters to frighten away evil spirits. The death of a person was often attributed to witchcraft, and he whose face bore some likeness to that of the dead person was often regarded as the culprit, provided the patient in his ravings had not given the name of the supposed sorcerer. The soul of a cow whose fat had been used for illumination during religious ceremonies was believed to go directly to heaven: this last belief, however, must be of post-conquest origin.

Among themselves the Indians are jovial and contented. The approach of the men whom we often met on the trails around Huila was usually first detected by the sound of the

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881 heights of Cuetando, where they built a hut and planted a miniature field as proof of their masculine aptitude.

797 **Education.**—Today the Indians are educated principally by their
871 parents in the customs and tasks pertaining to each sex. Some boys
[868] and a few girls are sent to the few missionary schools, where they are given religious instruction and are taught Spanish, arithmetic, geography, the history of Colombia, and modern embroidery or light
[562] basketwork. The *Páez* are reluctant to send their daughters to the schools because they feel that women should keep the traditions of
[77] their people. The missionary schools strive to change the native language and the cultural traditions which have given the Indian community social cohesion.

595 **Marriage.**[11]—Formerly polygyny was prevalent, but now Catholi-
77 cism has imposed monogamy. The Indians continue, however, to
583 practice trial marriage (amaño). A marriage is arranged as follows:

584 The bride is selected by the young man's parents or by himself. His parents and two witnesses or godparents then visit her house to request her for the groom. They also serve as advisors to the young woman, in case she disapproves the marriage. The visitors carry half-filled bottles of rum (aguardiente) and some special garments for the girl. The young man's father offers the girl's father a half-bottle, acceptance of which means, as usual among the *Páez*, that the second party is well disposed toward the proposal and the negotiations may proceed. If the girl's mother agrees, the boy's mother presents her a half-bottle of liquor. The godfather or witness gives another half-bottle to the girl's father and the
583 godmother gives one to the mother. The visitors now leave, taking the girl, who then begins a year of trial marriage, during which the young man seeks proof that the girl is able to bear children, is active, cooks well, can weave, and
585 can cultivate the land. After the trial period, the man may return the girl to her parents or they marry in the Catholic Church, holding a feast which, like all
527 such celebrations, is called a "cuido." The couple and their parents and godparents are accompanied by an orchestra (chirimía) to the house where the feast is to be held. Here the bride puts on a modern dress, a ribbon on her hair, necklaces, and earrings, while the groom is with his godfather. As the guests arrive, chicha is distributed frequently, music is played, and then there is a feast of thick soup, generally with chicken, cooked yuca, arracacha, and roast or baked meat. In the afternoon, after more music and chicha drinking, the "refresco," really a banquet or social communion, is served. Six bottles of wine made from cane molasses, cinnamon, and cloves, and cake are given to the bride, groom, godmother,
[782] and godfather, who give some to everyone present. A prayer, led by the head of
[775] the house, then asks the souls of the dead to bless the marriage and give permission to dance. First, the godfather dances with the bride, then the godmother with the groom, after which everyone dances. The feast lasts 5 days, depending on the wealth of the family. Chicha is served and accepted with the phrase, "May God pay you, compadrito, for accompanying us. Accompany us more."

764 **Death.**—At a death, the family formerly buried the deceased inside the house with his possessions, and abandoned it. Some communities, however, preferred to cremate the body or dry it over the fire. The

[114] [11] I thank my wife and companion, Helena Ospina de Hernández, for her research in 1936 on matrimonial
[727] matters.

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The graves were "large and deep," and chiefs were buried with some of their wives and with food and chicha (Cieza, 1932, ch. 32).

In Colonial times, according to Del Castillo, the *Páez* removed a dying person from his hut but burned the house if anyone died in it. They had given up cremation, however, and buried in the earth, building a fence around the grave. Today, they cover the corpse with a white shroud and place it in the middle of the house with candles and flowers. Here it is watched over one night by relatives and friends, and then buried in a cemetery, where each relative tosses some earth into the grave saying, "Go with God." The mourners then bathe in the river without disrobing, and in the evening hold a banquet with chicha, sancocho (vegetable stew), meat, and tortillas. For 9 days a cross, a container of water, and a candle must be kept on the deceased's bed, the water being kept there so that the soul may drink. The relatives pray every night. A month after the death, a shaman purifies the house. The relatives and friends kill a pig, cut it lengthwise in two halves, one for the shaman, the other for the ceremonial banquet. The shaman sweeps the house floor with the pig's legs and some special branches, which are later buried. He chews coca, says some unintelligible words, and spits leaves on the house walls. The residents and guests then enter the house for the final proof of purification. The shaman, standing in the center of the house, gives a dog half a tortilla. If the dog does not die, he divides the other half among those present. He does the same with a piece of cooked meat, and if the dog still does not die, he blows chicha in all directions in the hut, and then divides what remains with those present. The hut and food are then declared clean The food is then eaten and much chicha drunk.

The modern burial customs of the *Moguex* differ somewhat from those of the *Páez*. The former dance for 9 days before and after burying a dead child. Because of the special ceremonies for adults, young Indians gather and prepare wood to be burned at their own funerals. When an adult dies, relatives and friends bring wood, food, and money to the house, and work for his family, who pray and weep for 3 days over the body. On the fourth day, they carry the body in a procession to the cemetery. Upon passing a house or inn where the deceased was accustomed to take chicha, they stop and drink. The burial procedure is like that of the *Páez*. Back at the house, they purify the objects used by the deceased over the fire, and leave his clothes and the hide he used as a bed at the river 9 days, after which they may be used. Meanwhile, the guests remain with the deceased's family, helping them. On the 9th day, they extinguish all lights and go to the nearest hill to mourn, while a shaman remains in the house to catch the soul of the deceased. He chews coca, spits it in all directions, and beats around with sticks to make the soul come out. Then he lights

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the fire and turns on the lights, and everyone returns to examine a layer of fine ashes placed beforehand at the door. If the ashes shows the footprints of an angel, they believe that the soul is saved, but if the footprints are those of a bird, they believe that the soul is condemned to hell. In some cases they ascertain the fate of the soul by the kind of bird prints.

WARFARE

The *Páez* and *Moguex* were particularly warlike. Their attacks were staged in the morning, accompanied by yells and the sound of trumpets, horns, sea shells, and drums. They were generally armed with great spears or pikes, spear throwers, and slings. When fighting, they would first hurl javelins with their spear throwers, then use their slings, the missiles for which they carried in a pouch, and finally pick up their spears or pikes for man-to-man struggle. They also formed closed squadrons, men with clubs alternating with spearmen. The former would step forward to wield their clubs, and then draw back to their positions for protection. Their best defense was on high ridges, from which they rolled large stones on their enemies. They perfected these natural defenses by cutting or camouflaging paths on which they prepared ambushes. They built trenches or pitfalls, which caused the attacking Spaniards much trouble.

The principal enemies of these peoples were the *Pijao* and the Spanish soldiers. The *Páez* remember the *Pijao* well, and call the stone statues in their territory "portraits of Pijaos," and the painted tombs, "houses of Pijaos." They are afraid to see the statues or visit the tombs.

To insult an enemy killed in war, they cut off his penis and placed it on the road.

Some historians ascribe cannibalism to the *Páez* and the *Moguex*, which seems to have no basis in fact. They kept trophy heads and stuffed the skins of their enemies, but did not eat their foe. There are, however, numerous historical references which state that in the wars against the Spaniards, the *Páez* left the bodies of dead enemies for the *Pijao* to eat, and that they cremated their own dead or dried them over a slow fire, which Friar Pedro Simón (1882–92, ch. 23) mistook for a means for preserving the flesh so that it could be eaten later.

As war trophies, they kept enemy heads, which they preserved with resins, and the skins of their entire bodies, which they filled with ashes (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 3). They even preserved the heads of the Spaniards' horses. They carried these trophies to wars, meetings, and feasts.

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Castillo mentions that they won—

shiped the sun, in whose honor they met and danced in places called "Itaqui-finó," i. e., the place where the sun revealed its mysteries; and that they venerated a kind of culture hero called Guequiau. It was he who instructed shamans (mohanes).

This hero has a counterpart in the religious legend of Juan Tama, the Son of the Star. One day when the Morning Star shone very brightly, some Indians found a child in a gorge—ever since called the Gorge of the Star. This was Juan Tama. They picked him up and entrusted him to a woman to nurse, but he nursed so much that her milk dried up. He was given to another woman, whom he also made very weak. They then said that he could not be nursed by a woman, and gave him food. After he grew up, he married the female chief of Huila, Doña María Mendiguagua, and became chief of all the Indians. He instructed people and explained to them how to keep the land for themselves and not mix with White people. He pronounced them invincible and summoned a chief from Pitayó, called Calambás, whom he appointed his manager. Calambás rebelled,[13] but was defeated by Juan Tama, who pardoned him on account of his bravery, and conferred on him and his heirs the right to rule the *Páez* in Bitoncó. As death approached, Juan Tama went to the lake on the páramo of Moras and sank into the waters. He had come out of this place and returned to it, leaving no heirs.[14]

In the neighborhood of Bitoncó there is a rock with what appears to be human footprints. When the Indians pass it, they uncover their heads and say, "The Holy One came this way." Another remnant of the cult of Juan Tama is the custom that each member of the council spends one week at the shores of the lake before the end of his term to render an account to Juan Tama of his actions in office. Likewise, newly elected officers, as soon as they receive their staffs or insignia of authority, spend a week at the lake. They toss silver coins into it, wash their staffs, and pray for strength to rule well. This ceremony, performed with the greatest secrecy, is called the "curing of the staffs." Recently, however, the Indians have stopped "curing" their staffs in the lake, for they say that Juan Tama is angry, and whenever they approach the lake, it rains and storms badly.

In the Guanacas section there was another sacred lagoon, called Tumbachí, which was recently drained because a snake that lived there attracted girls and kept them for a whole year, and then returned them when they were about to become mothers.

These tribes believed that the soul comes back to life.

Witchcraft was strongly developed among these Indians, who still believe in most of its practices, in spite of the catechization forced upon them by the missionaries.

[13] During the War of Independence, as well as in subsequent revolutions, the Indians of the family named Calambás distinguished themselves as warriors.

[14] We are indebted to Father David González for this legend, told to him by an old Indian in Lame.

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upon them by the missionaries. The power to do evil is not limited to the witches, but is possessed by anyone who entertains a momentary feeling of envy, and to women, who may not walk over a stick or a cord stretched on the ground. Contact with women during their menstruation or during the days following childbirth causes the "mokokoy" to persecute the men and make them ill.

Animals possess the power to prognosticate evil. A document written in 1730 [1] tells that an Indian killed a rooster because he had crowed before daybreak, and said, "Rooster, you are forecasting my death, but I shall kill you first." They believe the same thing when certain birds sing. For example, the call of an owl at midnight brings death to someone. And certain small birds called "ulchik" and others called "bich" warn whomever hears their singing that he will meet with disaster. The box turtle follows people warning them that they are going to die.

Del Castillo says that the Indians will not strike white dogs, so that they will not be bitten by them when they enter the future life.

The belief in spirits (kl'iumb) is quite general. Among these spirits is the "pitsuala" which persecutes people, makes them ill, and even kills them. The rainbow, or "Etskituns," causes a rash to break out all over the body of anyone who ventures out while the rainbow shines, and the drizzle that generally accompanies the rainbow will harm a person who gets wet in it if he does not bathe immediately. When the rainbow appears, they stay indoors, and blow or spit tobacco in its direction.

They believe that the lagoon on the snowcapped peak, Huila, is charmed, and that if they try to go near it wind and hail storms rise. Supernatural evil forces are supposed to be present during many social activities, such as dancing, meetings, funerals, house building, and bridge construction. When a bridge is built, two Indians beat the water constantly to drive away evil spirits. When traveling on the mountains they place small stones or coins on top of some large natural rock to assure a successful trip and to avoid angering the spirit of the mountain.

Sometimes these spiritual forces assume a bodily form, as in the case of the fireflies, which bring diseases or which may be wrapped in santa María leaves and placed in the path of an intended victim. Most feared are the ghosts of the dead, which consequently are the most propitiated. The *Moguex* and the *Pdez* ask their permission to dance, and honor them in a special rite, which blends old beliefs with new religious concepts. Thus, offerings are made to the souls during the first days of November, or whenever the curate is able to visit the Indian village. Each person offers some products from his farm, in-

[1] Statement made by Javier de Orozco y Cuellar in a lawsuit by the Indians of Toboima for the possession of land. From the ecclesiastical files of Bolaleduar, or Pies.

/179 cont./

594 Associated with the nuclear family primordially are the functions of reproduction, the rearing of children, and the education of the latter. On procreation depends also the importance of economic functions.

581 The orientation of the sexual instinct is a secondary end.
589 Indeed, Páez culture demands that every individual form a
[183] family, once he has acquired the capacity for procreation. In
[842] the parcialidad of Calderas they look upon children as a blessing
[775] from God, regarding celibates "como violadores de la cruz" /as violators of the cross/(marriage); celibacy is condemned, in the rationalization that the person who dies celibate goes to the
[754] Nevado del Huila, considered by them as hell. The celibacy of a woman is exceptional, and when it occurs they believe that she becomes a witch. They think something similar about some
581 widows. One woman of some fifty years of age says that
589 "marriage is fundamental and obligatory, for the grandfathers
775 used to say that to a woman who is not married the devil gives a black dog for a husband in hell" (7). Another woman declared

[825] 7. They regarded white dogs as companions and guides in the future life and fear that "if molested they will come out and bite them at the entrance to the future abode."

that at times she feels sorrow for the death of an unmarried daughter, "because the devil would give her a husband."

581 The culture considers it an obligation of parents to marry
183 off their daughters even if they are very young. Furthermore
[582] the young men aspire to "build their house, marry, produce children, have animals, coca in abundance, and sugar cane
[842] for their chicha" (8). The incentive to marry is to have children,

8. Bernal Villa, S. 1953, op. cit., p. 183.

for which purpose it is necessary to have assurance /180/ that the woman is fecund,